

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 USUN N 04416 140214Z

62

ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /074 W

----- 052360

O P 140022Z OCT 76

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9841

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN 4416

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, WA

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL: NAMIBIA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SWAPO CONFIDENTIAL AIDE MEMOIRE
CIRCULATED TO AFRICA GROUP OCTOBER 12 AND REFERRED TO
IN USUN 4415(NOTAL).

2. QUOTE KISSINGER'S OPTIMISM ABOUT NAMIBIA'S SETTLEMENT IS
MISPLACED.
AUTHORITATIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS, PRESS REPORTS AND RUMOURS
OTHERWISE HAVE CLOUDED THE REAL ISSUES AT THE UNITED NATIONS AND
ELSEWHERE REGARDING THE LIBERATION AND GENUINE NATIONAL IN-
DEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA.

DISTORTIONS AND FALSIFICATIONS HAVE BEEN INJECTED INTO THE
MEETING THAT TOOK PLACE BETWEEN THE SWAPO DELEGATION LED BY
PRESIDENT NUJOMA, AND THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, DRM.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 USUN N 04416 140214Z

KISSINGER ON SEPTEMBER 28 1976 HERE IN NEW YORK.

IT IS OUR CONSIDERED VIEW THAT DR. KISSINGER'S PRONOUNCEMENTS LED TO THIS CONFUSION. THERE IS AN OBVIOUS DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WHAT HE TOLD SWAPO DELEGATION IN PRIVATE AND WHAT HE SAID IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1976. WHAT HE SAID TO US IN PRIVATE WAS THAT THE VORSTER REGIME REMAINED INTRANSIGENT CONCERNING SWAPO'S CONDITIONS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS DEMANDS FOR A TRANSITION TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. IT WAS CLEAR TO ALL OF US THAT DR. KISSINGER FAILED TO EXTRACT ANY CONCESSIONS OR COMMITMENT FROM THE PRETORIA REGIME. THIS IS ALSO WHAT HE REPORTS TO PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND NYERERE. CONSEQUENTLY, SWAPO PRESIDENT REITERATED OUR POSITION AND URGED THE SECRETARY TO CONTINUE TO EXERT PRESSURE ON VORSTER TO ACCEPT SWAPO'S CONDITIONS AND ALSO COMPLY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS DEMANDS. THE SECRETARY THEN ASSURED THE DELEGATION THAT HE WOULD TRY HIS BEST AND REPORT BACK TO PRESIDENT NUJOMA AT SOME FUTURE DATE.

OUR IMPRESSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THAT MEETING, WHICH WE MUST SAY WAS VERY IMPORTANT, ARE CONTAINED IN OUR PRESS RELEASE: NO. P/8/11/76 OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1976. IN A NUTSHELL WE STATED THEN AND THE SITUATION REMAINS THE SAME TO US TODAY THAT, NOTHING MEANINGFUL HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SO FAR ON NAMIBIA." SWAPO FURTHER EXPRESSED OUR HOPE "THAT SOMETHING FUTURE WILL COME OUT OF THESE EFFORTS THAT WOULD ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM AND THE GENUINE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS."

IT WAS THEREFORE SURPRISING AND DISTURBING TO US WHEN DR. KISSINGER EXPRESSED HIMSELF IN SUCH AN OPTIMISTIC FASHION IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1976, THAT "PROGRESS" HAS BEEN MADE IN ACHIEVING A BASIS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA. THIS IS CLEARLY AT VARIANCE WITH WHAT HE TOLD US ONLY THE PREVIOUS DAY. WE WONDER, WHAT IS THE MOTIVE BEHIND THIS DOUBLE-TALK? CONCERNING NAMIBIA, DR. KISSINGER EXPRESSED THREE ELEMENTS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT FAVORED: "THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA WITHIN A FIXED, SHORT TIME LIMIT; "THE CALLING OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 USUN N 04416 140214Z

AT A NEUTRAL LOCATION UNDER UNITED NATIONS AEGIS; AND

"THE PARTICIPATION IN THAT CONFERENCE OF ALL AUTHENTIC NATIONAL FORCES, INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY SWAPO."

FURTHERMORE, HE WENT ON TO DECLARE THAT "PROGRESS HAS BEEN

MADE IN ACHIEVING ALL THESE GOALS." THIS "PROGRESS" IS KNOWN ONLY TO DR. KISSINGER AND VORSTER, BUT NOT TO SWAPO, THE OAU, ESPECIALLY THE "FRONTLINE" STATES, AND THE UNITED NATIONS, ALL OF WHOM REMAIN UNCONVINCED THAT THE VORSTER REGIME HAS SHOWN ANY COMMITMENT WHATSOEVER TOWARDS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA.

MUST WE CONCLUDE THAT THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HAS BEEN LED ASTRAY BY VORSTER'S TRICKS AND LIES INTO EMBRACING LATTER'S INSIDICUS SCHEME TO CREATE A PUPPET REGIME IN NAMIBIA VIA THE CURRENT TURNHALLE TRIBAL TALKS. IF DR. KISSINGER'S EFFORTS ARE CARRIED OUT GENUINELY ON THE BASIS OF THE COMPLEMENTARY POSITIONS OF SWAPO, THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS HOW COULD HE SEE "PROGRESS" IN THE FACE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTRANSIGENCE, INCREASED MILITARISATION AND CONTINUED BANTUSTANISATION OF NAMIBIA.

HERE IS HOW SWAPO SEES DR. KISSINGER'S THREE ELEMENTS:

FIRST, THE TURNHALLE TRIBAL CONFERENCE HAS ANNOUNCED A TIMELIMIT FOR SO-CALLED INDEPENDENCE ON DECEMBER 31, 1978, TO BE PRECEDED BY A PUPPET, INTERIM GOVERNMENT. IT THIS WHAT DR. KISSINGER REFERED TO AS "A FIXED, SHORT TIME-LIMIT?" THIS IS OBVIOUSLY UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

SECONDLY, DR. KISSINGER, HIMSELF, TOLD SWAPO THAT VORSTER'S MIND WAS FIXED EXCLUSIVELY WHEN THEY MET ON THE TURNHALLE TRIBAL CONFERENCE AND CONJECTURED WAYS AND MEANS TO MOVE THAT VERY CONFERENCE TO A NEUTRAL PLACE, I.E., GENEVA, AND THEN HAVE SWAPO INVITED TO PARTICIPATE AS ONE OF THE GROUPS. HAS DR. KISSINGER EMBRACED THE TURNHALLE TRIBAL CONFERENCE AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR? THIS TOO IS UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 USUN N 04416 140214Z

THIRDLY, DR. KISSINGER WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO IMPRESS UPON PRESIDENT NUJOMA THAT THEIR MEETING INDICATED UNITED STATES RECOGNITION OF SWAPO AS ONE OF THE PRINCIPALS TOGETHER WITH THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTH AFRICA IN THE NAMIBIAN CONFLICT. WHO ARE THEN THE OTHER "AUTHENTIC FORCES" WHICH WILL GO TO GENEVA CONFERENCE? SWAPO DISCERNS DUPLICITY IN WHAT DR. KISSINGER IS PROPOSING HERE FOR NAMIBIA. ON THE BASIS OF THE FOREGOING, THERE IS NO BASIS IN DR. KISSINGER'S ASSERTION THAT "PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN ACHIEVING ALL THESE GOALS." AS FAR AS SWAPO IS CONCERNED DR. KISSINGER'S AFRICAN SHUTTLE IS ZERO ON THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA.

SWAPO FEELS STRONGLY THAT IT WOULD BE MISLEADING, CONFUSING AND DANGEROUS FOR US TO BE EXPECTED (IN THE NAME OF DELICATE, DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES") TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION

OR ACT AS IF THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE PROGRESS ON NAMIBIA.
WE CAN NOT AND WILL NOT ACQUIESCE THIS GAME.

SWAPO BEARS A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE SUFFERING
PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. OUR COUNTRY REMAINS UNDER BRUTAL
MILITARY OCCUPATION; OUR PEOPLE ARE DAILY BEING TORTURED,
MAIMED AND MURDERED; THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF OUR COUNTRY
IS BEING DISCRATED THROUGH THE SO-CALLED HOMELANDS SCHEMES.
UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES HOW CAN WE BE EXPECTED TO PRETEND
THAT THERE IS PROGRESS WHEN WE KNOW THE TRUTH
ABOUT VORSTER'S MACHINATIONS AND THE CONNIVANCE OF OTHERS
IN NAMIBIA. WE SUSPECT THE MOTIVE HERE IS TO CREATE CONFUSION,
DOUBTS AND DIS-UNITY WITHIN THE RANKS OF SWAPO,OAU AND OUR
FRIENDS IN ORDER TO BUY MORE TIME FOR VORSTER TO FORTIFY
HIS GRIP ALL OVER NAMIBIA.

SWAPO'S VIEW IS, THAT THERE IS NO CONSENSUS AT THIS STAGE AMONG
THE THREE PRINCIPALS IN THE CONFLICT: THE UNITED NATIONS, SWAPO
AND SOUTH AFRICA. THE STUMBLING-BLOCK AS ALWAYS IS
SOUTH AFRICA. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE SUCCESS OF DR. KISSINGER'S
EFFORTS TO FIND A BASIS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FOR NAMIBIA
WILL DEPEND UPON HIS ABILITY TO PERSUADE VORSTER TO MEET
SWAPO AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS, TO DISCUSS THE MODALITIES FOR THE TRANSFER
OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. THIS IS THE CRUX
OF THE MATTER EVERYTHING ELSE IS EXTRANEIOUS. IN THIS REGARD, DR.
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 USUN N 04416 140214Z

KISSINGER'S EFFORTS FALL FAR SHOR OF OUR OBJECTIVES FOR
A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM.

IN THE MEANTIME, SWAPO DELEGATION HERE HAS A CLEAR MANDATE
FROM OUR PRESIDENT AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO FORGE AHEAD
AND HAVE SANCTIONS IMPOSED ON SOUTH AFRICA UNDER CHAPTER VII
OF THE U.N. CHARTER DURING THE CURRENT DEBATE OF
THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON NAMIBIA. WE ARE THEREFORE
GOING AHEAD WITH THIS STRATEGY.

UNQUOTE
SCRANTON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, AIDE MEMOIRE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 OCT 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976USUNN04416
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760385-0667
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761050/aaaabrng.tel
Line Count: 212
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 MAY 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <12 MAY 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECURITY COUNCIL: NAMIBIA
TAGS: PFOR, WA, UNSC, SWAPO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006